

# Geographical and Onomastic Notes\*

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## 1. The Geographical and Onomastic Background of 2 Kgs. 17:24–31; 18:33–19:13

This note deals mainly with the origin of the settlers who were brought to Samaria by the “king of Assyria” according to 2 Kgs. 17:24–31. It is our main purpose here to support G. R. Driver’s argument<sup>1</sup> that these settlers did not come from Syria, as alleged by some scholars.<sup>2</sup> We may corroborate this view by evidence drawn from both Biblical and cuneiform sources.

First we shall consider the Biblical sources. Let us examine the arrangement of the political units in 2 Kgs. 18:33–19:13 (with a somewhat abridged duplicate in Isa. 36:12–37:13). The Biblical account consists of two parts: Rabshakeh’s address (2 Kgs. 18:19–35; Isa. 36:12–20)<sup>3</sup>

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\*Abbreviations follow *CAD* except for the following: *AJP* = *American Journal of Philology*; Benz, *PNPPI* = F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, *Studia Pohl* 8 (Rome, 1972); Buccellati, *The Amorites* = G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period*, *Publicazioni del Seminario di Semitica, Ricerche* 1 (Naples, 1966); Driver, *Aram. Doc.* = G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B. C.* (Oxford 1954); *Ephem.* = M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1–3 (Giessen, 1902–15); Fales, *Censimenti* = F. M. Fales, *Censimenti e catasti di epoca neo-assira* (Rome, 1973); *HdAW* = *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*; Huffmon, *APNMT* = H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965); Jean-Hoftijzer, *DISO* = C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l’ouest*. (Leiden, 1965); Lankester Harding, *Index* = G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971); Lipiński, *Studies* = E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, 1 (Louvain, 1975); Mayrhofer, *OnP* = M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* (Vienna, 1973); Noth, *IPN* = M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Leipzig, 1928); *PW* = *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894); Ryckmans, *NPSS* = G. Ryckmans, *Les Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, 1–3 (Louvain, 1934–35); Stark, *PNPI* = J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971); *UF* = *Ugarit Forschungen*; *VT* = *Vetus Testamentum*.—The personal determinative is omitted in the transliteration of the masculine personal names discussed below. The determinatives KUR, URU and GARIN are also omitted wherever the localities in question are defined below as regions, settlements and meadows respectively.

1 *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958), 18\*–20\*.

2 E. Sachau, *ZA* 12 (1897), 48f; J. A. Montgomery, *Kings*, edited by H. S. Gehman, *ICC* (Edinburgh, 1951), 472.

3 On Rabshakeh see H. Tadmor, *Encyclopedia Miqrā’î*, (Jerusalem, 1976) 7:323f. [in Heb.] with literature.

and the letters which were sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah (2 Kgs. 19:10–13; Isa. 37:10–13). Each part contains a list of political units. The list in Rabshakeh's address (2 Kgs. 18:34, cf. Isa. 36:19) is shorter than that of the letters (2 Kgs. 19:12–13; Isa. 37:12–13).

Rabshakeh's address mentions events which presumably happened during the lifetime of the people to whom it was directed. The letters, on the other hand, mention both contemporary events and events which had happened many years earlier. This difference probably stems from the following fact: the address was in essence propaganda directed to the common people whose memory is notoriously short, whereas the letters were sent to a ruler.

The address mentions the gods of five places: Hamath, Arpad, Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivvah (these last two places are omitted in Isa. 37:13).<sup>4</sup> The letters mention the gods of four places: Gozan, Harran, Rezeph and Telassar (the place in which the sons of Eden were found). The submission of these places by the Assyrians had taken place several generations before the letters were sent. Thereafter, the letters mention the kings of another six places: Hamath, Arpad, Lair, Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivvah (note that Sepharvaim is not mentioned immediately after Hamath and Arpad, but after Lair). It is quite clear that the list of kings in the letters is almost identical with that of the address. The only difference is the omission of Lair in the address, possibly because it was thought to be an appellative ('of the town') and not a proper name.

#### (a) Lair

Lair was identified by Driver<sup>5</sup> with *L'ṛ* of Aršam's letters<sup>6</sup> and *Laḥīru* (*Laḥīru*).<sup>7</sup> *Laḥīru* is to be sought in north-eastern Babylonia.<sup>8</sup> Lair (*Lā'īr*), like many toponyms in tribal areas, may originally have been a personal name, causative precativ third person sing. m. of 'W-R.<sup>9</sup> Now it is known that *Laḥīru* became an Assyrian province. An Assyrian province was usually congruent with the former political unit, and West Semitic chiefs (*nasikātu*) are mentioned in *Laḥīru* a long time after it became an Assyrian province.<sup>10</sup>

4 2 Kgs. 18:34. Lucian and an Old Latin version add here "where are the gods of the land of Samaria?", but this is regarded by some commentators as a late interpolation.

5 *Aram. Doc.*, vi:2, cf. 57, ad loc. and n. 1.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Laḥīru* was identified with Biblical Lair by A. Sarsowsky, *ZAW* 32 (1912), 146.

8 See Brinkman, *PKB*, 178, n. 1093 with previous literature.

9 Cf. the causative imperf. indicative 3<sup>rd</sup> person sing. m. NA *la-ḥi-ri* as a personal name (*ADD* 674 + 1101:11) and as a tribal name (*AKA*, 302, ii:22). This name may be short for DN + *iaḥīri*, cf. NA *il-ia-ḥi-ri* (*Tell Halaf* 116:11, see Ungnad, 66, ad loc.). The NB personal name *l-ḥi-ru* (M. Dietrich, *AOAT* 7, n. 3 45f.) may be the same as *laḥīru* with *ya > i*. On the precativ in the Old Aramaic onomastic see W. von Soden, *Studios Landsberger*, 103f., n. 2. Also the toponym *La-qi/qī-e* (cf. the *nisba* *La(-a-)qa-a-ia*, *La-qa-a-a*, Parpola. *AOAT* 6, 224, NA; J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades*, 120 with n. 3) may be a precativ, possibly *qal* 3<sup>rd</sup> person sing. m. of *Y-Q-Y* 'to guard'. *La-qi-e* is also recorded as a personal name (*ABL* 520:15, NB); it is not connected with the OB fem. name *La-ki-tum* 'weak'; see Stamm, *Namengebung*, 267 with n. 2. *La-qi/qī-e* bears the same relationship to the personal name *la-a-qi-e* (*ADD* 17:5, NA; cf. Tallqvist, *APN*, 287b; Ryckmans, *NPSS* 1, 81) as does *Laḥīru* to *iaḥīru*.

10 *ABL* 280. They are mentioned together with the sheikhs of *Nu-gu-ú'*.

## (b) Sepharvaim

Sepharvaim is mentioned in the letters between two places which were located in eastern Babylonia, namely Lair in the North-east and Avva in the South-east. From the above discussion of Lair and from the discussion of Avva below, it follows that Sepharvaim, which is mentioned in 2 Kgs. 17:24; 18:34; 19:13 and Isa. 36:19; 37:13, is a different place from Sibraim (Ezek. 47:16).<sup>11</sup>

Sepharvaim was identified by Driver with Sippar,<sup>12</sup> whereas Sibraim was located on the border between the territories of Hamath and Damascus. But Sepharvaim (*Sprwyym*), the original form of which is probably *Spryym*,<sup>13</sup> was, like Avva, included in the geographical horizon of Nippur. It is probably identical with <sup>URU</sup>*Si-pí-ra-'ni*<sup>14</sup> which is mentioned in a document of the Murašû Archive from Nippur. *Si-pí-ra-'ni* represents \**Spryn*, the Aramaic counterpart of *Sprym*.<sup>15</sup> *Si-pí-ra-'ni* is mentioned together with <sup>URU</sup>*Ha-áš-ba-a*, a settlement which was situated on the Sîn-māgir Canal. This canal probably flowed west of the Tigris.<sup>16</sup> According to J. M. Grintz,<sup>17</sup> *Spryym* may be identical with *Šá-par-ri-e*, a settlement in the Chaldean territory of Bīt Awukāni which is mentioned in the Annals of Sennacherib.<sup>18</sup> Bīt Awukāni stretched east of Erech, and south and south-east of Nippur;<sup>19</sup> it also included Larak. It stands to reason that NA *Šá-par-ri-e* is identical with LB *Si-pí-ra-'ni*. An interchange *-ayn:-ê* is not recorded elsewhere; nonetheless, it is not impossible, as the interchanges (1) *-ayn:-în* and (2) *-în:-ê* are, however, recorded: (1) NB *Šá-ma-ra-'in*<sup>20</sup> which renders *Šmryn* (*Šāmrayin* < \**Šamrayn*)<sup>21</sup> and NA *Samerīna*,<sup>22</sup> which like the NB form refers to Biblical *Šōmrôn*; cf. also

11 Montgomery (cf. n. 2 above) identifies Sepharvaim with Sibraim.

12 *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958), 18\*f.

13 *Spryym* is probably a *scriptio plena* for \**Sprym*. See E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIsa<sup>a</sup>)* (Leiden, 1974), 112f., n. 26. Note that *Sprwyy* is translated as *Spr* in a marginal note of *Neophyti* to Gen. 10:30 (A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1: Genesis* [Madrid-Barcelona, 1968], 57, cf. 56, n. 2 ad loc. In the main text *Spr* is translated *Spry*'.

14 *PBS* 2/1, 117:7.

15 On the suffix *-ayn* see J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1894), 319, n. 5. For the spelling cf. *Šá-ma-ra-'in* below. Since in toponyms this suffix is not necessarily that of the dual, the identification of *Spryym* with the two parts which formed the city of Sippar (made by Driver, loc cit.) is hardly tenable.

16 This is stated here as a result of a thorough study of the geography of the Nippur region in the second third of the first millennium B. C. E. which is included in my dissertation, *Nippur in the Achaemenian Period: Geographical and Ethnical Aspects* (Jerusalem, 1974).

17 *M<sup>e</sup>bô'ê Miqrā* (Tel Aviv, 1972), 83 with n. 4.

18 *OIP* 2, 53:45.

19 See M. Dietrich, *AOAT* 7, 4. *Bīt Ú-ka-nu* is mentioned also in the document *PBS* 2/1, 71 (line 5) which was issued in Nippur in 421/20 B. C. E. This document lists canals and areas which were located in the surroundings of Nippur.

20 *CT* 34, 47, i:28.

21 See Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), 39f.

22 See the spellings listed in Parpola, *AOAT* 6, 302f.

NA *Qar-ni-na/ni*<sup>23</sup> which refers to Biblical *Qarnayim* (Aram. \**Qarnayn*); (2) NB *Ḥar-bi-e*<sup>24</sup> and NA *Ḥa-ar-bi-na*,<sup>25</sup> NA *Tillê* and *Til-li-i-ni*.<sup>26</sup> As for the sibilant, NA *š* in *Šá-par-ri-e* renders WSem. *ʃs/*. Both *Šá-par-ri-e* and *Si-pí-ra-'ni*, while compared with \**Siprayn*, show anaptyxis of the internal cluster *-pr-*.<sup>27</sup> The latter form shows also reduction of *a* to *i* in a closed syllable.

There remains a difficulty. In connection with all these places their kings (*m<sup>el</sup>lākîm*) are mentioned; on the other hand, we are not informed by other sources of the existence of kings except for Arpad and Hamath. This difficulty does not however rule out the identifications advanced above. For one cannot eliminate this difficulty by assuming that Sepharvaim refers to two different places (Sippar and Sibraim). Moreover, we can prove that there was no king of Sippar, as this city belonged throughout the post-Cassite period to the kingdom of Babylonia and enjoyed restricted autonomy only. Likewise, the definition of Sibraim as a border-point makes it plausible that it belonged either to Hamath or to Damascus (see above). As for the identification of Sepharvaim with *Si-pí-ra-'ni*, we may still enjoy the benefit of the doubt, since *Si-pí-ra-'ni*, which was situated in a tribal area, might have served as a seat of a *nasîku* (sheikh, a chief of a West Semitic tribe or clan). There is no need to expect accurate terminology in letters that were sent as propaganda. Moreover, these letters involved remote regions, of which the addressee knew little. Sennacherib might simply have meant to impress Hezekiah by referring to the rulers of Laḫîru, Sepharvaim and other remote places as *m<sup>el</sup>lākîm*. This alleged mention would be in accordance with the main part of both the letters and Rabshakeh's address; both the letters and the address mention remote regions, some of whose inhabitants had been brought to Samaria about twenty years before the letters and the address referred to them. It is likely that the addressees, the Judeans and their king, had some commercial or even cultic connections with these settlers, who resided on the Judean border in the province of Samaria. The Assyrians probably mentioned these regions in order to strengthen the impression and the effect of Assyrian might on their addressees.

Another difficulty is caused by the names of the deities worshipped by the people of Sepharvaim. '*Adarmeleg* and '*Anammeleg* are, according to their names, typical Aramean deities. They were worshipped not only in northern Syria, but also in the Nippur region. Driver<sup>28</sup> identified the former deity with *Adad-milki*, which occurs as a theophoric element in some names in NA transcription (mainly from Harran and Gozan). This deity has been discussed by K. Deller<sup>29</sup> and M. Weinfeld.<sup>30</sup> The theophoric element occurs once in a LB document, in the name <sup>d</sup>*Adad(1M)-mil-ki-iddina*. The document (*BE* 8, 80) was found at

23 *Ibid.*, 284.

24 *BE* 8, 23:9.

25 Parpola, *AOAT* 6, 150.

26 *Ibid.*, 356f.

27 For anaptyxis in NA see Ylvisaker, *Grammatik*, 15f., §8. Cf. the NB/LB spellings *Šá-ḥar-ri-(i/in-)ni/nu* for *Šaḥrîm(u)* (Tallqvist, *NBN*, 294f.) and *ta-šal-li-ša-an-nu* (*BE* 10, 124:6) for *tašlišānu*.

28 *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958), 19\* with nn. 32–35.

29 *Or.NS* 34 (1965), 382f.

30 *UF* 4 (1972), 144f.

Nippur and was issued at *Ālu ša<sup>m</sup>Ḥa-an-di-di*. The settlement was named after a certain Aramean, *Ḥa-an-di-di*. *Ḥa-an-di-di* may contain the theophoric element 'An(u).<sup>31</sup> 'An(u) is probably found in the DN 'Anammelek.<sup>32</sup>

(c) Hamath

Hamath may be identical with <sup>URU</sup>*A-ma-ti*, which is mentioned together with <sup>URU</sup>*A-ma-a* (=Avva).<sup>33</sup> Note that <sup>URU</sup>*A-ma-tu* is mentioned together with <sup>URU</sup>*Ḥa-ú-a-e* (= \*'Awwê), which was situated in Bīt Dakkūri.<sup>34</sup> The former was possibly connected with the *Amatu* tribe and may be identical with the settlement *A-ma-tu*, which is mentioned later in a document from NB Erech.<sup>35</sup>

These settlements were probably connected with Hamath. There is a probable connection between these settlements in western Babylonia and their namesakes in eastern Babylonia (Grintz, see above, is however skeptical about such a connection). A considerable number of place names in Babylonia are the same as tribal names.<sup>36</sup> *Amatu* and *Ḥauae* are not the only examples of toponyms in eastern and western Babylonia that are named after the same tribe. Thus one finds near Babylon the Piqūdu Canal (which flowed from there through the Nippur region down to the outskirts of Erech). This canal was named after the Aramean tribe of *Pēqôd*, which resided east of the Tigris.<sup>37</sup> Situated on this canal was a suburb of Babylon named after the Aramean tribe of *Litamu*.<sup>38</sup> Two more settlements near Babylon,<sup>39</sup> one settlement near Kish,<sup>40</sup> five settlements<sup>41</sup> and two canals<sup>42</sup> near Nippur, two settlements<sup>43</sup>

31 On this theophoric element cf. the literature listed in Benz, *PNPPI*, 380, s.v. 'n. The predicative element *-di-di* may be a *qil* formation which is derived from the same root as *dād* 'favorite' or the like (cf. Huffmon, *APNMT*, 181f.).

32 See Driver, Loc. cit.

33 See *ibid.*, 18.

34 *OIP* 2, 52:36.

35 *An.Or.* 8, 14:28.

36 On this phenomenon see Brinkman, *PKB*, 270f., nn. 1738–51. The examples given below are additional to those of Brinkman. The tribal name may be in many cases secondary to the place name.

37 *Ibid.*, 240.

38 *Ibid.*, 270, n. 1738.

39 *Gī-ru-mu* (*An.Or.* 8, 7:3, issued in Babylon) and *Na-ba-tu<sub>4</sub>* (e.g., *VAS* 3, 76:18).

40 *Gī-ru-mu* (*RA* 30 [1933], 190, B, 1; C, 1, r.(?) 2; D, 1, r. 2). The documents which mention *Gī-ru-mu* were found at Barguthiyat which is situated approximately 25 km. north-east of Kish. The tribe is mentioned once together with Kish, but the context is not well-preserved; see Brinkman, *PKB*, 276, n. 1794.

41 *Gam/Ga-am-bu-la-a-a* (*PBS* 2/1, 12:8, 11), *Ḥa-tal-lu-ú-a* (*ibid.*, 18:5, 7; see M. Streck, *MVAG* 11 [1906], 23–24; probably identical with *Ḥa-tā-la'*, *BM* 13253:3, unpubl., courtesy of Dr. M. W. Stolper), *Man/Mar-di-ra-a-a* (e.g., *BE* 9, 104:5; the original form is probably *Mar-di-ra-a-a* [*PBS* 2/1, 22:7, 10], 'Derites' [with the determinative LÚ], cf. <sup>LÚ</sup>*Man-di-ra-a-a* in *ABL* 1314, a letter which refers to Dēr, i.e. with interchange between the liquids *n/r*), *I-bu-li-e* (*PBS* 2/1, 5:4), and *Šar-a-ba-ni* (*BE* 9, 60:3).

42 *Ḥi-in-da-ri* (*BE* 8, 138:5) and *Za-mi-e* (*PBS* 2/1, 182:2).

43 *Šar-ra-ba-nu* (e.g., *TCL* 12, 75:11), *Za-mi-e* (*GCCI* 2, 15:2).

and one canal<sup>44</sup> near Erech, and one settlement<sup>45</sup> and one meadow<sup>46</sup> near Sippar were named after Aramean tribes. The Arameans had probably been concentrated in the territory east of the Tigris which was largely a tribal area in the first millennium B. C. E.<sup>47</sup> before some of them immigrated westward, into the regions surrounding the Babylonian temple cities<sup>48</sup> and the regions surrounding the Chaldean territories. Hence, one finds in the Chaldean territory of Bit Dakkūri several settlements named after tribes. These are the above-mentioned Amatu and Ḥauae, as well as *Sūqa<sup>m</sup>Ma-ru-si*<sup>49</sup> and *Ḥu-da-di*.<sup>50</sup> The last two settlements were named after the Aramean tribes of Marusu and Ḥudadu respectively.

As for 'Aššimā, the deity of the settlers from Hamath/Amatu,<sup>51</sup> the formation of its name may be parallel to that of the Aramaic toponym 'Aššumā (Greek *Aisymas*)<sup>52</sup> and the Phoenician DN *ḏia-su-mu-nu*.<sup>53</sup> The resemblance of the divine names 'Aššimā and *Yasumūnu* may be merely morphological; resemblance in functions and characteristics cannot be demonstrated. 'Aššimā can be analyzed as 'a- + šim- + -ā. The first component is parallel to the 'a- of 'Aššumā, the ay- of *Aisymas* and the ya- of *Yasumūnu*. The ya- of *Yasumūnu* is also represented either by prosthetic a/e/i- (*Asmūn*, *Esmūn*, *Ismūn*) or Ø (*Samūn*).<sup>54</sup> The shifts of ya- to a-, e-, i-, ' and Ø occur frequently in NA and NB/LB transcriptions, mainly in the renderings of the theophoric

44 *Ru-ub-bu* (YOS 6, 14:3). *Su-man-dar*, which is recorded as a name of a region (TCL 12, 20:2, 90:3; YOS 6, 41:4), a settlement (YOS 3, 84:27), and a meadow (YOS 6, 150:3, 7) near Erech, occurs as a place name also east of Babylon, possibly in the Diyala region; see Unger, *Babylon*, 106f. This may be due to immigration from the Diyala region into the Erech region.

45 *Gi-lu-šú* (Cyr. 166:8, 364:1; Nbn. 398:31 *Nerg.* 70:11).

46 *Gi-lu-šú* (Cyr. 34:21; Nbn. 784:4). Both places are possibly named after the Aramean tribe *Gulusu* (Parpola, *AOAT* 6, 136, with NA *Vokalharmonie*).

47 This is different from the situation in the second millennium B. C. E. In the second millennium B. C. E. there were found in that area some political units which consisted of temple cities like Ešnunna. The only temple city in that area in the first millennium B. C. E., Dēr, does not seem to have played any important political rôle during the first millennium B. C. E. and was probably dependent on Elam and the Aramean tribes.

48 See Brinkman, *PKB*, 280f.

49 Parpola, *AOAT* 6, 318.

50 *Ibid.*, 167. Cf. *Ḥu-da-da*, name of a meadow (*BIN* 1, 159:20, NB, near Erech). *Ḥu-da-da* occurs as a personal name in NA (*ADD* 947 + *K* 14260:9). The OB toponym *Ḥu-da-du-um* (Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats*, 196:1) does not refer to the same place as *Ḥu-da-di*.

51 See Driver, *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958), 19\*; J. T. Milik, *Biblica* 48/1 (1967), 568.

52 Cf. Fales, *Censimenti*, 96.

53 Borger, *Esarb.*, 109, iv:14.

54 Cf. the Greek and Latin transcriptions which are listed in Benz, *PNPPI*, 278f. and also by Milik, *Biblica* 48 (1967), 567.

element *Ya/ʿAyya*; compare NA <sup>d</sup>*A-ba-di*,<sup>55</sup> *A-ra-me*,<sup>56</sup> *Ia-ra-pa-a*<sup>57</sup> and NB/LB *ʿA-šá-ag-gi-i*,<sup>58</sup> <sup>d</sup>*E-ra-am*,<sup>59</sup> <sup>f</sup>*I-me-ta*,<sup>60</sup> *ʿbad*.<sup>61</sup> As for the second component of *ʿAššimā*, it is parallel to *šūm*- of *ʿAššūmā*, *Aisymas* and *Yasumūnu* (= *Yašumūnu*). *Šum* means 'name, seed, offspring'. It is recorded in cuneiform transcriptions in various forms which can be schematized as (V)s/š/š(ṽ)m(at);<sup>62</sup> they are (1) *S/Šam*, (2) *S/Šim*, (3) *S/Šum* and (4) *ʿism* (*ʿIšm*). The forms *S/Šam* and *S/Šum* are much commoner in cuneiform transcriptions than *S/Šim* and *ʿIs/šm*. *S/Šam* appears in no less than nine names,<sup>63</sup> *S/Šum* in no less than nine examples,<sup>64</sup> *S/Šim* in no more than two possible examples,<sup>65</sup> and *ʿIs/šm* is not recorded in cuneiform transcrip-

55 Johns, *Doomsday Book*, 1, i:6.

56 Ruler of Bit Agūsi (e.g., *KB* 1, 160, ii:12).

57 *ABL* 631:9.

58 *GCCI* 1, 202:3, same person as *A-šab/p-gi-ʿ* (*GCCI* 2, 76:2, kindly collated on my behalf by Prof. W. W. Hallo), with dissimilatory *b/p* as in *fšē-li-ḫu-ub/p-tu<sub>4</sub>* (*VAS* 5, 43:8, 44:8, both documents were written by the same scribe in Babylon in 530/29 B. C. E.), probably the same name as *fšē-lib-bu-ut-tu<sub>4</sub>* (*Dar.* 379:45, Babylon, 509/08 B. C. E.), feminine of Akkadian *šēlibum* (Tallqvist, *NBN*, 201b). *Aram. šgy* means 'great, abundant, numerous' (Jean-Hoftijzer, *DISO*, 291, s. v. *sg*<sup>3</sup> III).

59 *BE* 8, 87:8.

60 *TCL* 12, 3:3, 8 (NB).

61 *BIN* 1, 176:11; *UET* 4, 140:5 (NB/LB).

62 On NB *t* for WSem. /š/ see Lipinski, *Studies*, 106f. and cf. n. 64 below.

63 *A-a-sa-am-mu* (*Lie, Sar.*, 44, No. 9:9), *Ia(?)sa-am* (*VAS* 1, 84:1), *Sa-ma-an* (*KAV* 131, r. 7), *Sam-de(-e)-ri/ru* (toponym, *Parpola, AOAT* 6, 364, s. v. *Udēru*), all NA; *Sa/Šá-am/ma(-ʿ)-gu-nu* (NA, NB, see above), and *Ša-am-ili* (*DINGIR*<sup>MES</sup>) (*Dar.* 265:9), *Šá-am-ma-a* (*Nbn.* 755:5), *Šá-mi-i(?)* (*Moldenke*, 2, 3:11), *Sa-am-ma-nu* (*YOS* 7, 65:32), all NB/LB. NA *Sa-ma-ip-ša-ni*, the DN <sup>(d)</sup>*Sa/Ša-am/ma-nu-ub/ḫa* (see below) and NA *Ša-am-mu-ra-mat* (Tallqvist, *APN*, 191b; Albright, *AJP* 66 [1954], 100f.; W. Schramm, *Historia* 21 [1972], 513, n. 2) probably belong here as well. *Sa-am-mu*, the theophoric element of the last name, is probably a female deity; a feminine suffix is attached to the divine name in *ʿašmat* (H. Grimme, *OLZ* 15 [1912], 15, n. 1); see B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968), 175 with previous literature. This feminine suffix was possibly attached to the form *Sam-* in <sup>f</sup>*Sa-an-dī-ra-mat* (*ABL* 1199:6, NA), i.e. *S/Šamti*<sup>o</sup>. For *mt* > *nd* cf. von Soden, *GAG* §96h.

64 *S/Šum-mu-ili* (*ADD* 1155, r. 6, NA), *Su-um-mu-ili* (*YOS* 7, 186:4, LB), *S/Šum-ma-ū-al* (*ADD* 860, ii:16, NA). The last name possibly means 'offspring of *Awāl*'. *Awāl* was an Arabian deity (see T. Fahd, *Le pantéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire* [Beyrouth, 1968], 47f.), *Su-um*<sup>d</sup>*Nabū* (*BRM* 1, 49:6, LB) shows a *s/š* interchange (cf. I. M. Diakonoff, *Henning Memorial Volume* [London, 1970], 111, n. 37), *Ia-šū-um-ma* (*Nbk.* 361:15), *Ia-a-šū-mu* (*ABL* 542, r. 7; both NB), *Ia-su-mu* (*ABL* 502:10, NA), *Šu-ú-ma-ni* (*GCCI* 1, 320:2) and *Šu-ma-a-a* (*BRM* 1, 36:3; both NB). LB *Šu-um-mu* (Moore, *Michigan Coll.*, 89:53) may not belong here, as the bearer of this name was designated as a Mede; however, the name does not yield any Iranian etymology.

65 The first example may be the tribal name *Gu-ra-s/šim/si-im-mu* (see Dietrich, *AOAT* 7, 215, s. v. *Gurasimmäer*). For the first component cf. the toponym *Gu-ru-Addu* which is mentioned in a document from Mari (*ARM* 7, 155:6), the Biblical toponym *Gūr-Baʿal*, and the NA hypocoristica *Gu-ra-* (Tallqvist, *APN*, 82a) and *Gu-ri-ia* (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 144, 156, *ND* 3454:2; perhaps also NA *Gur-ra-a-a*, Tallqvist, loc. cit., belongs here). It is derived from *gūr* 'young animal'; Stark, *PNPI*, 81b, s. v. *Gwr* with parallels; add *Guryā*, *Guryān* and *Guryōn* (Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* [Frankfurt, 1922] 74b), i.e. *gūr* plus the hypocoristic suffixes *-ā*, *-ān* and *-ōn* respectively. The second example may be NA *Ši-ma-nu* (Tallqvist, *APN*, 221a).

tion.<sup>66</sup> *S/Šim* perhaps appears later in the divine names *Symbetylos* and *Seimios*;<sup>67</sup> the divine name *Simia* or *Simion* can perhaps be analyzed as *S/Šim* plus the suffixes *-ī* + *-ā* and *-ī* + *-ān* respectively.<sup>68</sup> The suffix *-ā* (which is the Aramaic definite article) is probably attached to *S/Šam* in the personal name *Sa-ma-ip-ša-ni*,<sup>69</sup> the divine name <sup>(d)</sup>*Sa/Šā-ma-nu-ub* (see section 2 below) and, with *ś*,<sup>70</sup> in the personal names *Il-ta-ma-sa-ma-*,<sup>71</sup> *Il-ta-a-ma-*, and *Al-ta-ma-*.<sup>72</sup>

(d) Avva

A. Šanda<sup>73</sup> identified Avva (2 Kgs. 17:24, identical to Ivvah) with *URUA-ma-a* situated on the Uqnu river according to the Annals of Sargon.<sup>74</sup> As Driver<sup>75</sup> has pointed out, *URUA-ma-a* is mentioned in the same source with *URUA-ma-te* which was also situated on the Uqnu. *URUA-ma-te* is possibly Hamath from which people were deported to Samaria by the Assyrians (see above, c). A document (*BE* 8, 28), found at Nippur and possibly belonging to the Nippurean archive of Nergal-iddina, was issued at Avva (*URUA-ú-a*) in 562/61 B. C. E. Another document of the same archive (*BE* 8, 40 from 556/55 B. C. E.) was issued at *URUAm-mat* or *URUAm-lat*. Both *Amatu* and *Amlatu* are names of Aramean tribes in Mesopotamia.<sup>76</sup> The Avvites were probably West Semites; *ʿAwwā* (*ʿIwwāb*) is a Semitic name, as are the names of most of the settlements which were situated on the Uqnu river.<sup>77</sup> All the names mentioned in the document which was issued at Avva are Semitic (Babylonian and West Semitic). The Avvites were

66 On *Šm* and *šmbyl* see Milik, loc. cit. (cf. n. 54 above) and Porten, *Archives...* (cf. n. 63 above), 168f. The other proposed derivations of this divine name, which are conveniently summarized by W. Fauth, *PW Suppl.* 14 (Stuttgart, 1974), 686, seem less likely.

67 Grimme, *OLZ* 15 (1920), 14f.

68 Lidzbarski (*Ephem.* 3, 263f.) doubted the connection between *Šm* and *Simia/Simion*. For a detailed and up-to-date discussion see Fauth, *PW Suppl.* 14, 680–701.

69 *Tell Halaf*, 116:4, *-ip-ša-ni* is *qal* imperf. 3rd person sing. m. of *P-Š-Y* 'to deliver' or the like (cf. Ungnad, *ibid.*, 66, ad. loc.). In Biblical Hebrew there are some verbs whose *qal* form appears only in personal names; otherwise they are attested in the D conjugation. These verbs are *M-L-Ṭ*, *P-L-Ṭ*, *D-L-Y* and *M-L-Y*. All these verbs, except for the last one, mean 'to deliver' or the like (see Noth, *IPN*, 180f. with n. 4). The same holds true for the predicative elements of another two West Semitic names which are found in NA transcription: *Ili-is-la-ka* (Johns, *Doomsday Book*, 12, ii:8), from *Š-L-K* (cf. *ibid.*, 67, ad. loc., *Nabû-islaka* is probably a slip of Johns' pen) and *Ba-al-ḥa-lu-šu* (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 136 [= pl. 33], *ND* 5550:10), from *Ḥ-L-Š* (Phoenician; contra Benz, *PNPPI*, 311, who assumes that *Ḥ-L-Š* in verbal sentence names is in the D).

70 Cf. Lipiński, loc. cit. (n. 62 above).

71 Parpola, *AOAT* 6, 83, s. v. *Bīt...* "Iltama has heard."

72 Cf. Fales, *Censimenti*, 16.

73 *Könige* II (Münster, 1911/12), 224–25.

74 *Lie, Sar.*, 50:13.

75 Loc. cit. (cf. n. 51 above).

76 The place name *Im-ma-lat* (*BE* 8, 17:14) may be the same as the tribal name *Amlat* with reduction *a > i* and anaptyxis.

77 *Lie, Sar.*, 48:5, 50:11f. Note the settlements the names of which end in the suffixes *-ān* (*Ḥa-a-a-ma-nu*, *Ḥi-li-pa-nu*, *Nu-ḥa-a-nu* and *Pat-ti-a-nu*) and *-ūt* (*Ga-di-ia-ti*), or begin with the prefix *ya-* (*la-ap-ti-ru*). Some other toponyms which refer to places situated on the Uqnu river were named after Aramean tribes.

influenced by both the Babylonian and Elamite cultures, as were the other inhabitants of south-east Babylonia, the region which constituted the Babylonian-Elamite borderland (this borderland included Rāšī, Dēr and the territory along the Uqu). The Avvites who were settled in Samaria worshipped Elamite deities, namely, *Tartaq* (*Dirtaq*) and *Nibhaz* (*Ibnaḥaza*).<sup>78</sup> It is possible that Avvites resided also in western Babylonia at the settlement *Ḥa-ú-a-e* which was located in the Chaldean territory Bīt Dakkūri. This territory was located South and West of Nippur and stretched down to Erech. It was inhabited by Arameans and Arabians as well.<sup>79</sup> *Ḥa-ú-a-e* may render \**Awwê*, the fore-runner of the assumed eastern-Aramaic form for Heb. *'Awwim*.<sup>80</sup>

As noted above, the Avvites worshipped Elamite deities. They, like other West Semites residing in south-eastern Babylonia, were under Elamite cultural and political influence. This is also reflected by the hybrid (Arameo-Elamite) name *Šam-Agunu*<sup>81</sup> 'offspring of *Agunu*'. For the predicative element *šam* see above. The Elamite deity *Agunu* is contained in Elamite names.<sup>82</sup> It is also the theophoric element of the NA name *Ab-du(?)*-*dA-gu-ni*<sup>83</sup> which, if the reading of the sign in question is correct, may also be a hybrid name meaning 'slave of *Agunu*' (close in meaning to *Kutur-Agun*). As was already observed by A. A. MacRae, a theophoric element may form part of any name regardless of the other component's linguistic affiliation.<sup>84</sup>

78 F. Hommel, *OLZ* 15 (1920), 118; *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, *HdAW* 3, 1, 1 (Munich, 1926), 987. His thesis is supported by W. F. Albright, *JBL* 71 (1952), 252, and by Driver, *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958) 19\* with nn. 36–38. The alternative explanation given by Montgomery (*Kings*, 472), namely *Trtq* < \**Trqt* < \**trqt* < *'Attar'atta* and *Nbbz* < \**Mbbz* < *Mzbb* < *Mdbb*, causes serious phonological difficulties.

79 See I. Eph'al, *JAOS* 94 (1974), 108f.

80 *-Ca-e* may render *-ê* as in LB *a-da-e* (*YOS* 7, 50:2) for *adê* (cf. *CAD* A61, 134) and *mu-gi-na-e* (*UET* 4, 113:6) for \**mugīnē* < *mukīnē*); von Soden, *AHW*. 670a, reads *mu-GI.NA<sup>e</sup>*.

81 Tallqvist, *APN*, 191a, s. v. *Sa-am(-)'gu-nu* (NA); 208b, s. v. *Šā-ma(-)'gu-nu* (NB). Both refer to one and the same person. WSem. /š/ is usually rendered by *s* in NA and by *š* in NB. Akkadian *g* never renders WSem. /š/. The latter phoneme is rendered in Akkadian either by *ḡ* or by *θ*. This rules out any connection between *S/Šama'gunu* and West Semitic *Šm'wn* (this connection appears as questionable already in Tallqvist, *APN*, 191a). The tablet *A* 8002 which mentions Samagunu (Piepkorn, *Asb.*, 73, ii:11) was assigned by Piepkorn (*ibid.*, 73, n. 11, cf. 91ff.) to Edition B<sub>3</sub>, but it possibly belongs to Edition C. *ND* 4378C+, i:4f. (Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 [1967], pl. 17, cf. 65ff.) should be restored according to *A* 8002.

82 (1) *Te-im-ti-a-gu-un*, 'Agun is a lord' (*MDP* 22, 131:25; 157, r. 2; *MDP* 23, 173, r. 4; 204, r. 9; *MDP* 24, 347:27; 392:9; *MDP* 28, 406:4). On the element *tempti* (*te-im-ti*) see H. de Genouillac, *RT* 27 (1905), 115; for other names with this element cf. e. g. *MDP* 23, 214f. (2) *Ku-tu-ur-A-gu-un* 'servant of Agun' (*MDP* 10, 70:2, with note). For the element *kutur* cf. W. Hinz *apud* M. Mayrhofer, *OnP*, 8.845, 11.3.2.2.3.

83 *ADD* 179:4, collated.

84 *NPN*, 290. Although this 'law' was established only for names from Nuzi, it evidently applies also to some Aramaic names. Cf. e. g. the names with the theophoric element *Esi* (the Egyptian goddess Isis): (1) *Ḥa-an-na-ta<sup>d</sup>E-si'* (*PBS* 2/1, 65:4, 9; from Achaemenian Nippur 'Esi has graced'), (2) *Ḥa-nin<sup>d</sup>E-si'* (*VAS* 15, 3:1, 4, 8, 11, 16; from Seleucid Erech) 'graced by *Esi*'; (3) *Ab-di-e-si'* (*VAS* 6, 227:2, Seleucid); (4) *Ra-ḥi-i-me-E-su* (*ZA* 3 [1888], 131, 144, no. 4:3; 134.146f.; no. 7:5, 2 from Arsacid Babylon). These names belong to a later Mesopotamian religious milieu. Anatolian deities are found in the West Semitic names *Ab-di-Ku-bu-bi* (*ADD* 473:5, NA) and *dAr/Āru/ū-as-ma-a-di*; see F. M. Fales, *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, 13/3 (1974), 181f., NA.

Šam-Agunu was son of the chieftain of Gambulu who was the ally of Elam in its wars against Assyria in the middle of the seventh century B. C. E.<sup>85</sup> The same name was borne later by two persons who are mentioned in NB documents from Erech.<sup>86</sup> Both were possibly immigrants from eastern Babylonia.<sup>87</sup> It is noteworthy that a descendant of *A-muk-a-nu* (a Chaldean tribe) was named *Me-na-nu* (ABL 1341, NB).<sup>88</sup> *Me-na-nu* is, according to P. Jensen,<sup>89</sup> a hypocoristicon of *Umman-menanu* (Elamite *Humban-imena*).<sup>90</sup>

South-eastern Babylonia was already under Elamite influence before the first millennium B. C. E. For the Old-Babylonian period compare the hybrid (Akkado-Elamite) personal names *Ku-uk-ilu-šu-ma*,<sup>91</sup> *Ši-mu-ut-a-bi*<sup>92</sup> and *Ši-mut-ga-mil*.<sup>93</sup> *Kudur-mabuk*, who bore an Elamite name and patronym (*Simti-Šilbak*), was probably an Amorite. He was the sheikh of the region of Yamutbāl which was inhabited mainly by Amorites.<sup>94</sup> Yamutbāl was close to Elam and under Elamite control during the Old-Babylonian period,<sup>95</sup> as were Rāši and Gambulu during certain periods in the first millennium B. C. E. It is clear that Elamite political and cultural influence on the West Semites of south-eastern Babylonia existed both in the second and the first millennia B. C. E. The West Semites, who probably were originally nomads, were apt to be influenced by higher, sedentary cultures, as was the case in most areas of the Fertile Crescent during most periods.

Regarding the Neo-Assyrian period, it is interesting that at least three individuals who are explicitly designated as 'Elamites' were, judging from their names, ethnically Aramean. 'Elamite' is probably to be understood here in the political sense: (1) *Gi-na-a-a*,<sup>96</sup> possibly a hypocoristicon

85 See G. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936), 187.

86 *BIN* 1, 177:25 (reign of Nebuchadnezzar II); 175:25 (the date is lost).

87 Like *Di-ra-a-a* (e.g., *YOS* 6, 63:11, from Erech), i.e. 'the man from Dēr' (in eastern Babylonia).

88 See Dietrich, *AOAT* 7, 4, 10–12, 15; 24 with n. 2; 125, 126.

89 *WZKM* 6 (1892), 217 (cf. 221).

90 *Humban-imena* III was the name of an Elamite king (692–688 B. C. E.) who succeeded his brother *Kutur-Nahhunti* III (693–692). The origin of these two kings, as well as their relationship to their predecessors, is not known (see Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, 164f.; F. W. König, *AfO Beiheft* 16 [Graz, 1965], 7f.). Hinz (*The Lost World of Elam* [London, 1972], 149–51) states as facts that *Kutur-Nahhunti* III was the eldest son of *Hallušu-Inšušinak* and that *Humban-imena* III was the younger brother of *Kutur-Nahhunti* III. Hinz's statements are entirely unfounded. Note also that the tribal name *Amukānu* (also *Amuk*, i.e. /Aw(u)k(ān)/, cf. Parpola, *AOAT* 6, 77f.) is of unknown etymology; this point, combined with the occurrence of an Elamite name which may be somehow connected with the tribe, arouses, of course, considerable speculation.

91 Other names with the component *kuk-* are listed in *UET* 5, 47b. The theophoric element of this name is the Akkadian King-name *Ilušuma*. Cf., e.g., *Ḫammurapi-Šamši* (Stamm, *Namengebung*, 316). On Elamite names in OB Larsa see Leemans, *SLB* 1/2, 21, 90.

92 *AJSL* 33 (1916/17), 232; *RFH* 19:9.

93 *UET* 5, 61b, s. v.

94 The designation of *Kudur-mabuk* was Sum. a d d a E - m u - t - b a - l a, Akkad. *a-bu E-mu-ut-ba-la*, 'father of Yamutbāl' (see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, 105f., 168f.).

95 See Edzard, loc. cit.

96 *ADD* 625, r. 14.

from *G-N-N* 'protect', (2) *A-ri-ka-*,<sup>97</sup> possibly Aram. 'arīkā 'tall',<sup>98</sup> and (3) *Bur-se/si-la-a*<sup>98</sup> 'son' of *Se/Si-la-a*.<sup>100</sup>

(e) Hena

No identification can be proposed for Hena (*Hēna*, var. *Wn*, LXX *Anag*). However, as it is mentioned between Sepharvaim and Avva, there is good reason for thinking that it was located in eastern Babylonia.

(f) Telassar

Telassar is mentioned in Rabshakeh's address as a place in which were found 'the sons of Eden', possibly exiles from Bīt Adini. Bīt Adini is a name which was applied both to an Aramean kingdom in northern Syria and to a Chaldean tribal territory in southern Babylonia (possibly identical with Bīt Dakkūri or part of it). Telassar is identified with Til Aššūri, which is mentioned in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions (spelled *Til A/Āš-šur/šū-ri*)<sup>101</sup> from the reign of Tiglath Pileser III down through the reign of Esarhaddon. In the reign of Tiglath Pileser III there was a temple of Marduk in Til Aššūri. This fact may indicate a Babylonian cultic influence or even a Babylonian colonization which took place in some other places in the Zagros. Til Aššūri is mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath Pileser III after Silḥazi and before Niqu. Silḥazi is designated in the Annals as the 'fortress of the Babylonians'.<sup>102</sup> It is also mentioned together with Šikrakki; both Til Aššūri and Šikrakki possibly belonged to Media in the reign of Tiglath Pileser III, whereas Niqu, which had already been mentioned in the second millennium B. C. E. (and possibly even earlier), belonged to Tubliaš. The latter name designated the region which was situated along the lower Diyala. The Parnakeans, who inhabited Telassar in the reign of Esarhaddon, are mentioned together with Ellipi, a region which was later included in Media. Esarhaddon States<sup>103</sup> that he crushed the Parnakeans (*Par-na-ka-a-a*), the inhabitants of Telassar who were named<sup>104</sup> *Pit(t)anu* by the people of *Me/iḫranu*. It is noteworthy that

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97 It appears in Tallqvist, *APN*, 29b, as "prob[ably] El[amite] ," but there are no Elamite onomastic parallels to it. An Iranian etymology (*\*Āryaka-*, *-ka-* extension to *\*Ārya-*, 'the Aryan'; cf. Mayrhofer, *OnP*, 8.458) is not impossible phonologically if E. A. Grantovskiy's etymology of Iran. *\*Varyaka-* for NA *U-ri-ka(-a-a)*, *Ur/U-ri-ia/ak-ku* (*Rannyaya Istorya Iranskikh Plemyon Peredney Azii* [Moscow, 1970], 266f.) is accepted. However, in view of the context, the Iranian etymology seems less likely than the Aramaic.

98 Cf. J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Berlin-Vienna, 1924), 166.

99 *ABL* 140:11. *Bur* means 'son'; the name of the same person is spelled both *Bir-dRa-man* (*RLA* 2, 420, n. 3, C<sup>a</sup>6) and *Bur-dRa-man* (*2R*, 68, no. 2, ii:21).

100 Cf. Fales, *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, 13/3, 186, No. 30.

101 Parpola, *AOAT* 6, 352.

102 See I. M. Dyakonov, *Istorya Midii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1956), 201, n. 4; Brinkman, *PKB*, 232 with no. 1468-1469.

103 Borger, *Esarb.*, *Nin. A*, iii:58; *Klch. A*, 28f.; *Mnm. B*, 20.

104 *Zikiršun* (*ibid.*) is to be preferred on the variant reading *zikiršū*.

the Assyrians considered the Parnakeans dangerous enemies (*akšu*, a word which designates in the Assyrian sources the worst enemies of Assyria, such as the Cassites, Chaldeans, Elamites, and Cimmerians). From all the above-mentioned passages it is clear that Telassar was situated east of Babylonia and not, as S. Schiffer suggested, north of the Syrian Bīt Adini.<sup>105</sup> Schiffer suggested that identification on the assumption that *Me/iḫranu* is identical with <sup>KUR</sup>*Meḫranu/Me-eḫ-ri*<sup>MEŠ</sup> (either 'the land of the Scots pines [*Pinus Sylvestris*]' or 'the land of the poplars').<sup>106</sup> Schiffer's suggestion should be rejected for two reasons, historical and geographical. The historical reason is that *Meḫrāni/Me-eḫ-ri*<sup>MEŠ</sup> was already mentioned in 833 or 824 B. C. E. (the eponym year of Iaḫālu),<sup>107</sup> namely in the reign of Shalmanesser III, and we are not informed that Shalmanesser III reached the Diyala region. The geographical reason is, as we saw above, that *Me/iḫranu* was situated east of Babylonia whereas *Meḫrāni/Me-eḫ-ri*<sup>MEŠ</sup> cannot be located there, but north or north-west of Assyria proper. This is based on the fact that the *abaraku*-official Iaḫālu was the governor of several provinces, all of which were located north and north-west of Assyria proper and some of which were already conquered by the predecessors of Shalmanesser III: Kipšunu, Qumenu, Uqi, the Cedar Mountain(?), and *Meḫrāni*. It is more likely, therefore, to assume that there were two different regions named *Meḫrāni*: one near Telassar, the name of which may be non-Assyrian (perhaps Iran. \**Miḫrāna*- > \**Mibrāna*-)<sup>108</sup> and another north or north-west of Assyria proper, the name of which may be Assyrian ('the land of the Scots pines' or 'the land of the poplars'), provided that the pseudo-logogram <sup>KUR</sup>*Me-eḫ-ri*<sup>MEŠ</sup> is not based on popular etymology.

## 2. Šam(a)nūḫ(u)—A West Semitic Deity

The spellings of this divine name are NA <sup>(d)</sup>*Sa-am/ma-nu-ḫa/ḫu* and LB <sup>d</sup>*Šá-ma-nu-uḫ* (see presently). <sup>d</sup>*Sa-am-nu-ḫu* is mentioned in a NA list of deities from Assur.<sup>109</sup> It is the theophoric element of NA <sup>d</sup>*Sā-ma-nu-ḫa-šar-ilāni*,<sup>110</sup> the name of the ruler of Ša-Dikāni on the Ḫabur river in the first quarter of the ninth century B. C. E.,<sup>111</sup> and of other NA personal names.<sup>112</sup> This theophoric element is already recorded in the MA (or early NA) period in the personal name *Sa-am-nu-ḫa-ašarēd*(SAG).<sup>113</sup> The latest occurrence of this theophoric element is in the LB personal name *Lu-la-'<sup>d</sup>Šá-ma-nu-uḫ* (from Nippur, 425/24 B. C. E.).<sup>114</sup>

105 *Die Aramäer* (Paris, 1911), 70.

106 See *AHw.*, 641b with literature.

107 E. Michel, *WO* 1 (1949), 262:12.

108 Cf. I. Aliyev and Dyakonov apud Aliyev, *Istoriya Midii* (Baku, 1960), 1, 69 with n. 8.

109 Frankena, *Tākultu*, 110f.

110 *AKA*, 281, i:78.

111 See E. Unger, *BASOR* 130 (1953), 16:3; 17, n. 2.

112 See Tallqvist, *APN*, 191b.

113 See C. Saporetti, *Onomastica medio-assira* (Rome, 1970), 1, 389 with literature.

114 *BE* 8, 151:40, 41. The first component is also found in the following LB names: *Lu-la-'<sup>d</sup>Nabû* (*TCL* 13, 132:15) and *Lu-la-'ḫi-ia* (*PBS* 2/1, 125:4). Its meaning is not known.

Albright<sup>115</sup> was of the opinion that *Samnūḫu* is a Hurrian form of the Akkadian DN *Šulmānu*. According to him, *Samnūḫu* is a contracted form of the Mitannian DN <sup>d</sup>šá-ma-an-mi-nu-ḫi, which is based on popular etymology. However, this explanation does not eliminate serious phonological difficulties.<sup>116</sup>

Since *Sam(a)nūḫ(u)* was worshipped in the Ḥaḅur region which was inhabited mostly by West Semites, the explanation of this name could be based on West Semitic onomastic material. It is assumed here that this is a compound divine name *Šam(a)-nūḫ(u)* 'offspring of *Nūḫ(u)*'; compare *Šmbyt'l/Symbetylos* mentioned earlier and *Apil-Addu* 'offspring of *Addu(Adad)*', deities that were also worshipped by West Semites in northern Syria and the middle Euphrates region.<sup>117</sup> *Ap-lu* and *ma-ru* can be taken according to *Diri* 1, 267 f., as synonyms of *šu-mu*.<sup>118</sup> *Nu-uh/ḫa/ḫu* is probably the same name as Biblical *Nō<sup>ah</sup>*, who was a mythical figure. M. Noth<sup>119</sup> collected some West Semitic names from second-millennium Mesopotamia (mostly from the middle Euphrates region) which may contain the component *Nḫ*. However, only *Sumu-niḫum/niḫim* can contain a theophoric element which is unambiguously derived from the root *N-W-Ḥ*. In the other names the element in question is always written *niḫim* and may just as well be derived from the root *N-Ḥ-M*.<sup>120</sup> An inscription of Esarhaddon mentions the Arabian deity <sup>d</sup>*Nu-ḫa-a-a*.<sup>121</sup> The name of this deity can be analyzed as *Nūḫ* plus the suffix *-ay(ya)*; such an analysis is only possible if this deity is not identical with the Thamudic deity *Nḫy*,<sup>122</sup> but with the deity *Nḫy*, that is recorded in inscriptions in Syriac.<sup>123</sup> The attestation of *Nḫ* as a divine name in Syriac is

115 *AfO* 7 (1931/32), 165f.

116 It is difficult to see how *šul-* has become *šam-* and why the *mi* of *Šamanminuḫi* is not found in *Šamnuḫu*.

117 E. Ebeling, *RLA* 1:120; *AfO* 9 (1933/34), 205; A. F. Rainey in Y. Aharoni (ed.), *Beer-Sheba 1, Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, 1969–1971 Seasons* (Tel Aviv, 1972), 61–69. Note that Simios was the son of Atargatis according to *Diodorus Siculus*, ii:4.

118 Cf. *CAD* A<sup>2</sup>, 173f., s. v. *aplu*, lex. sec. The same person is named *Apla-a-a* and *Šuma-a-a* in Prism B of Assurbanipal (see Piepkorn, *Asb.*, 74, vii:74). *Aplu* is possibly found also in the NB theophoric name <sup>d</sup>*Apil-Šamaš (A.UTU)-uṣur(PAP)* (*BRM* 1, 17:13). Clay (*ibid.*, 26) read the name *Ili-aplu-ut-uṣur* 'God, protect the heir/legacy', but *aplūtu* is not attested after the OB period and does not appear in personal names. Besides, *aplūtu* is never spelled A, but DUMU.UŠ or phonetically (see *CAD*, A<sup>2</sup>, 177f.). Note that the patronym of *Apil-Šamaš-uṣur* contains the theophoric element *Šamaš*. Note also that the divine name *Adgi*, name of Adad in *Sūḫu* (on the middle Euphrates) or *At-ki-i* (in the NB name <sup>f</sup>*At-ki-i-ili*, *TCL* 12, 3:3, reign of Tiglath-Pileser III), goes back, according to Albright and Huffmon (*APNMT*, 190f. with lit.) to Amorite *Ḫa-at-ku-um* 'offspring(?)'; cf. also *At-ki-<sup>d</sup>Adad* 'offspring(?) of Adad' (Buccellati, *The Amorites*, 135, s. v. *Atganum*) and *Mu-ut-ḫa-at-ki-im* 'man of *Ḫatku*' (in Mari, *RA* 65 [1971], 39, 44, A, iv:57).

119 *VT* 1 (1951), 254f.

120 See Huffmon, *APNMT*, 237f. and add *Mu-ta-ni-ḫi-im* (*RA* 65 (1971), 38, 43, A, iii:51).

121 Borger, *Esarb.*, *Nin. A*, iv:10; *Mnm.* B,10.

122 Fahd, *Pantheon* (cf. n. 64 above), 144.

123 J. Leroy, *Syria* 34 (1957), 325–26; A. Maricq, J. Pirenne, and P. Devos, *Syria* 39 (1962), 100–3; J. B. Segal, *Edessa, "The Blessed City"* (Oxford, 1970), 23, n. 4. Cf. the personal names *'mtḫy* and *'bdḫy* which are vocalized by Leroy (*Syria* 34 (1957), 319f.) *-oḫay*, but can possibly be vocalized *-oḫay* as well, since these names and the name *Nḫy'zyz* (Stark, *PNPI*, 99b, s. v. *Nḫy*) are not attested in vocalized Syriac texts.

open to doubt.<sup>124</sup> The LB hypocoristica *Nu-ḫa-a*<sup>125</sup> and *Nu-ú-ḫa-a-nu*<sup>126</sup> (also as a toponym)<sup>127</sup> could have been shortened from names with the predicative element *nu(-ú-)ḫi*, such as *Nu-ú-ḫi-dIš-šár*,<sup>128</sup> or from Akkadian names.<sup>129</sup>

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124 See Leroy, *ibid.*, 325 with previous literature.

125 *BE* 9, 4:12.

126 *TuM* 2/3, 40a.

127 E. g., *An. Or.* 8, 62:7 (kindly collated on my behalf by Dr. L. Jakob-Rost, Berlin).

128 *BE* 9, 47:19. For the reading *-Iš-šár* see B. Barro, *JSS* 16 (1971), 33f.

129 Cf. Stamm, *Namengebung*, 168f., 230.